REPORT

OF THE

DEPUTY MINISTER OF LABOUR

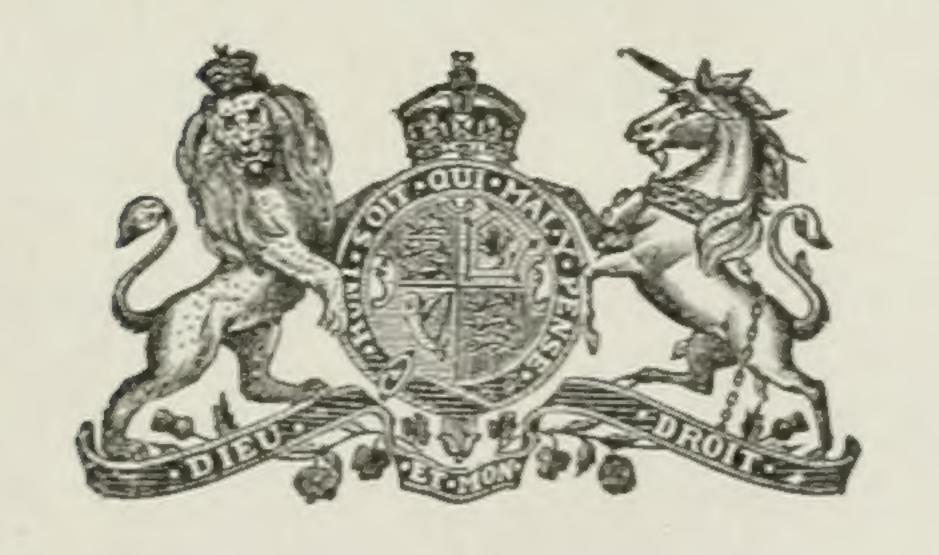
ON

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

IN THE

COAL FIELDS OF NOVA SCOTIA

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Ottawa, September 25, 1909.

To the Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Minister of Labour,

Ottawa.

SIR,—I have the honour herewith to report the result of an inquiry into the condition of the coal mining industry of the province of Nova Scotia, with special reference to the differences now existing between the operators of the different collieries and their employees on the one hand, and among the employees themselves on the other.

I left Ottawa for the province of Nova Scotia, as directed, on Monday, August 30, returning on Sunday, September 19, having in the meantime visited every important centre of coal mining in Nova Scotia, and discussed the situation in its general bearings with the managers of all leading collieries, with leading representatives, in most cases, of the workmen affected, and with prominent citizens, not as a rule directly connected with any one of the parties to the present differences, in each of the thirteen cities and towns, including the capital of the province, most closely interested.

The differences to which the inquiry had reference had already culminated in three strikes in different parts of the province, and in friction at other points with appeared to threaten an extension of the area of actual difficulties. I have in the course of my investigation endeavoured to ascertain the underlying causes for this unfortunate condition of affairs.

Number and Output of Nova Scotia Coal Mines.

It may be desirable, before setting forth the details of the report, to indicate briefly the importance to Nova Scotia of the coal mining industry, the number of collieries, the number of employees and amount of output respectively of such collieries, and the close relation of the coal output to the revenue of Nova Scotia consequent on the royalty paid to the government of the province on the coal produced.

The producing coal mines of Nova Scotia, together with the number of workmen employed at each mine, and the output respectively for the year ended September 30, 1908, are stated in the annual report of the Department of Mines of Nova Scotia for the year 1908 to have been as follows:—

Company.	County.	Production.	No. of Employees.
Dominion Coal Co Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Co. Cumberland Railway and Coal Co. Acadia Coal Co. Intercolonial Coal Co. Maritime Coal Railway and Power Co., Chignecto. Maritime Coal Railway and Power Co., Joggins. Inverness Railway and Coal Co. Port Hood Coal Co. Other Companies.	Cumberland Pictou Cumberland Inverness	$\begin{array}{r} 662,350 \\ 416,132 \\ 413,782 \\ 315,590 \\ 15,839 \\ 51,130 \\ 283,704 \\ 283,700 \end{array}$	568 216 804

The importance to Nova Scotia of the revenue derived by the provincial government from the coal industry is shown in the fact that whereas the whole revenue for the province for the year ending September 30, 1908, was \$1,783,647, the amount received from the coal royalty was \$616,933, or considerably over a third.

Coal Trade between Canada and the United States.

There is of course an intimate relation between Canada and the United States with respect to the coal trade. The coal supplies of Canada being found only at points in the extreme east and west, respectively, the United States product finds a safe market in the middle provinces of Canada, while it is able to compete with the Nova Scotia product as the latter reaches the limit of its Canadian market. The Nova Scotia operator finds some compensation in New England for the loss of his domestic market. The following shows where the coal of Nova Scotia was marketed during the year ending September 30, 1908:—

Nova Scotia	Tons. 1,950,631 ³
New Brunswick	$510,330\frac{1}{2}$
Quebec	$2,047,638\frac{1}{2}$
United States	499,6344
Elsewhere	$477,353\frac{3}{4}$
Total	5,485,5883

It will be seen, therefore, that Quebec or the competitive portion of the domestic market consumes about one-third of the Nova Scotia product, while the Nova Scotia coal exported to the United States is less than ten per cent of the product, and for the year named, was less than half a million tons.

The United States product, on the other hand, was marketed in Canada during the year ended June 30, 1909, to the extent of *11,711,961 tons, of which 6,710,933 tons represented bituminous coal and 1,139,233 tons bituminous slack or dust, the remainder being anthracite and coke.

The Canadian duty on bituminous coal is 63 cents per ton, and on bituminous dust or slack and on charcoal 14 cents per ton. There is no duty imposed by Canada on anthracite or coke.

The Unted States duty on coal for many years prior to 1894 was 75 cents a ton, under which the export from Nova Scotia, after fluctuating violently between 254,750 tons in 1873, and one-half, one-third, and one-fourth that figure in the few succeeding years, was almost wiped out in 1892 and 1893 when the amount sent to the United States was respectively 13,833 tons and 16,099 tons. In 1894, the duty was made 40 cents, and so remained for three years, during which there was a marked increase in export. In 1897 the United States tariff imposed a duty of 67 cents on coal, and this remained unchanged until a few weeks ago, when a reduction was made to 45 cents. The figures of the coal export from Nova Scotia to the United States under the 67-cent tariff were as follows:—

^{*} See Canadian Mining Journal, August 1, 1909.

	Tons.
1897	106,279
1898	98,027
1899	153,188
1900	624,273
1901	590,086
1902	751,382
1903	968,832
1904	713,170
1905	652,538
1906	769,775
1907	616,312
1908	499,634

It will be observed that the export reached its highest point in the year 1903, the increase of that year being obviously due to the strike prevailing in the United States collieries during the late months of 1902 and the early portion of 1903. Similarly, the marked falling off during last year is no doubt to be attributed to the decreased demand due to the business depression then existing in the United States, and which caused a falling off also in United States coal production to the extent of 70,000,000 tons. In spite of this decreased production the United States operators produced more than the demand, and a slump in prices followed, which was felt in Canada to some extent, and is no doubt responsible for the decline in production during the first half of the present year as compared with the corresponding period of last year in the output of the six largest mines of Nova Scotia, as shown in the following statement:—

January 1 to	o June 30,	1908	2,481,594 t	tons
- 11	11	1909	1,994,673	11
	Decrease,	1909	486,821	11

	1908.	1909.	1909, Decrease.	
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	
Dominion Coal Co	1,570,258	1,209,991	360,267	
Inverness Ry. and Coal Co	128,291	97,487	30,804	
Cumberland Ry. and Coal Co	198,279	178,316	19,963	
N. S. Steel and Coal Co	287,595	274,556	13,039	
Acadian Coal Co	162,648	124,199	38,449	
Intercolonial Coal Co	134,523	110,124	24,399	
Totals.	2,481,594	1,994,673	486,921	

Decrease, 1909, under 1908 = 19.66 per cent of production.

Finally, so far as this aspect of the case is concerned, the following statement giving the total coal production of Canada by provinces, from 1904 to 1908, will show the relative importance of the coal mining industry in the different producing districts of the Dominion:—

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Coal Production in Alberta, British Columbia and Nova Scotia for the five years 1904-8.

Year.	Alberta, short tons 2,000 lbs.	British Col- umbia, short tons 2,000 lbs.	Nova Scotia, short tons 2,000 lbs.	Total tons of 2,000 lbs.	Percentage of Increase Canadian Coal Pro- duction.
1904 1905 1906 1907 1908		1,862,625 $1,945,452$ $1,955,000$ $2,365,000$ $2,362,000$		10,553,745	9·24 p.c. 11 1905
Totals	6,604,904	10,490,077	29,976,824	47,071,805	

Labour Situation in Nova Scotia Coal Mines.

It was understood when the present inquiry was instituted that the existing difficulties in the labour situation in the coal mines of the province arose mainly from the struggle between two rival labour organizations over the enrolment of the employees and the question of recognition by the employing companies. The organizations are, respectively, the Provincial Workman's Association of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, a body incorporated under the laws of the province of Nova Scotia, and the United Mine Workers of America, an unincorporated body having its membership chiefly in the United States where also are situate its headquarters.

The Provincial Workmen's Association of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was organized in the year 1878, and from that date until the beginning of the present dissension was practically the only trade union known among the miners of the province. The organization, which was incorporated under the laws of Nova Scotia in 1881, is controlled by a Grand Council, and its chief office is the Grand Secretaryship, a salaried position, which has been for the last eleven years occupied by Mr. John Moffatt, Dominion, C.B. The majority of the miners have, as a rule, belonged to the Provincial Workman's Association, but its membership has fluctuated as the demand for organization appeared to be pressing or otherwise. It has been the practice in most cases for the operating companies to give formal recognition to the different unions of the Provincial Workman's Association, that is to say, to accept a committee representing the union as entitled to speak on behalf of the employees, and frequently, to make agreements with such bodies. In addition, several of the employing companies have made it a practice to collect the dues of the Provincial Workmen's Association; that is to say, on the written request, as a rule, of a particular employee the company will deduct from the wages of the employee the dues payable to the order; and as a matter of convenience in such cases, the custom has grown up whereby the company has made such collection from a list furnished by the Grand Secretary, the necessary changes being made regularly. The method of collecting dues is usually termed the 'check-off,' and, apart from what is known as the 'closed shop,' is perhaps the largest measure of recognition that is sought by unions or conceded by employers.

The effect of the system is of course to make the employer a party to building up the union, the regular deduction of dues in the way described tending to prevent delinquencies and generally to keep the organization compact. The point is one which has figured somewhat prominently in the present difficulties. Coal mining companies were specially empowered under the Nova Scotia law to make these collections, though not all companies have assumed the responsibility. There are, of course, other dues similarly collected, for hospital, doctor, &c., and in some cases, where the men ask, for church. The collection of union dues is understood to be a practice confined to the coal mining industry.

The United Mine Workers of America is an unincorporated body, comprising in its ranks the majority, probably, of the workers in the bituminous and anthracite mines of the United States. By many of the bituminous operators, the organization has received a recognition similar to that granted the Provincial Workmen's association by the Canadian operators; in the case of the anthracite operators, however, such recognition has been definitely refused. The body claims a membership fluctuating from three to four hundred thousand, not falling below the former figure. The order is governed by an executive board, termed 'international,' whose business is conducted from Indianapolis, Ind. The various local unions are grouped into districts which are given numbers and each district is entitled to a representative on the executive. The coal miners of eastern British Columbia and Alberta, for instance, have been during the last few years organized as local unions of the United Mine Workers of America and constitute District No. 18 of the order, with district president and secretary on salary, and a representative on the executive. The president of the organization for many years was Mr. John Mitchell, who became widely known during the great coal miners' strike in the United States in 1902, and on that and other occasions took high rank as a labour leader. Mr. Mitchell was a year ago succeeded in the presidency by Mr. Thomas L. Lewis, of Bridgeport, Ohio, a native of Wales. Mr. E. S. McCullough, of Bay City, Michigan, is vice-president of the order.

United Mine Workers of America Organizers in Canada.

Within the last year or two, the United Mine Workers of America began to organize local unions in Nova Scotia, the membership of which would necessarily be taken largely from the Provincial Workmen's Association, and it was from this movement that developed the friction now existing among those concerned in the industry. The following statement as to the local unions claimed by the rival organizations at the date of my inquiry will show the measure of success attained by the newcomer and the power of resistance exerted by that already in the field.

Provincial Workmen's Association Locals.

LODGE.	SECRETARY.	ADDRESS
Ladysmith	Jos. Cubby	Westville, Pictou Co.
man and the same of the same o		Stellarton, Pictou Co.
Section .		Port Hastings, Inverness Co.
Seaside	Jas. McLellan	Port Hood, Inverness Co.
Star	.W.S. Walker	Inverness, Inverness Co.
Drummond	Arthur Davis	Sydney Mines, C.B.

LODGE.	SECRETARY.	ADDRESS.
Roberts	W. J. Rowayne	Sydney Mines, C.B.
	Thos. Dolsay	
* *-	Luke Gallvan:	
Unity	Malcolm McNeil	Reserve Mines, C.B.
	George McLean	
	Peter Devoe	
	Daniel Hardy	
	John A. McPherson	The same and same
Ironsides	John Davis	Glace Bay, C.B.
Aberdeen	. Jas. A. Campbell	. Glace Bay, C.B.
Wilson	John P. Boutillier	Dominion, No. 6, C.B.
Island	Wm. Lockman	Bridgeport, C.B.
Keystone	"Jas. McDonald	New Aberdeen, C.B.
Victoria	. D. A. McNeil	Waterford, C.B.
Sampson	Pat. Burke	Louisburg, C.B.
Power	John Murphy	New Aberdeen, C.B.
B. Diamond	Leonard McGlauchlin	. Parrsboro, Cumberland Co.
	Jas. D. Ross	
representing a total of 24	locals.	

United Mine Workers of America Locals.

The United Mine Workers organization claims ten locals in the Glace Bay district for the thirteen mines controlled by the Dominion Coal Company, 1 at Morien, 2 at Sydney Mines, 1 at Inverness, 1 at Port Hood, all in Cape Breton, 1 at Westville, Pictou county, 1 at Springhill, 1 at Chignecto and 1 at Joggins, all in Cumberland county, representing a total of 19 locals.

These local unions are in the case of each organization of varying size, and may occasionally have no more than a nominal existence. This last description would appear to apply to the Provincial Workmen's Association local claimed for Port Hood, and the United Mine Workers local claimed for Westville. The membership, always more or less an uncertain quantity, is rendered particularly so at the present time owing to the keenness of the rivalry of the two organizations, and the quickness with which the situation changes.

State of Affairs at Different Mines.

It will be desirable, perhaps, at this point to set down concisely the exact situation at the properties of each of the different coal mining companies in Nova Scotia, with respect to the footing of the two workmen's organizations and the relations of the same with the operators.

1. Dominion Coal Company's Mines, Glace Bay, C.B.—Normal number of employees 5,486. The employees were all formerly members of the Provincial Workmen's Association, and an agreement between the company and the Provincial Workmen's Association was made under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in March, 1908, terminating December 31, 1909. Certain of the employees having subsequently joined the United Mine Workers of America, called for a new board under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act to inquire into certain grievances, including a

claim for recognition of the new union. The board found against the claim, and the United Mine Workers of America called a strike on July 6. At the outset the output of the mines was reduced below one-third of the normal figure, but by the early weeks of September had increased to considerably over one-half the regular production. Military protection was called in at the outset of the strike, and several companies of the Royal Canadian Rifles are yet stationed in the district, under Lt.-Col. Fages.

- 2. Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company, North Sydney, C.B.—Normal number of employees, 1,792. The employees were here, as in the case of the Dominion Coal Company, working under an agreement between the company and the Provincial Workmen's Association, made under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in August, 1908, for no stated period. As in the case of that company also, certain of the employees having joined the United Mine Workers of America subsequent to the conclusion of the agreement, they became parties to an application for a new board to which were referred various grievances stated to exist among the men employed at Florence Mine, not, it may be noted, at the mines generally, its grievances including a claim for recognition of the new union. The board found against the claim. No strike has been declared, and members of both organizations are working under the agreement with the Provincial Workmen's Association. No further difficulty seems probable.
- 3. Inverness Railway and Coal Company, Inverness, C.B.—Normal number of employees, 508. The company here had what is termed a 'closed shop' agreement with the Provincial Workmen's Association, dating back to 1906, the company agreeing to employ only members of that organization and to collect the dues for the lodges. Many of the employees joined the United Mine Workers of America and demanded then that the deduction of Provincial Workmen's Association dues should cease. The company claimed to be bound by its agreement with the Provincial Workmen's Association and discharged all who insisted on leaving the Provincial Workmen's Association. On July 9, the United Mine Workers of America declared a strike. The output was temporarily reduced to one-third, but by the early weeks of September had reached within a hundred tons daily of the average production, though the United Mine Workers organization claimed to be distributing relief to between two and three hundred men. In this case, the strike was declared without any reference to the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. Military protection was asked and some companies of the Royal Canadian Rifles were sent to Inverness under command of Lt.-Col. Weatherbee.
- 4. Port Hood Richmond Railway and Coal Company.—Normal number of employees, 216. Work was being carried on in this case under an agreement effected in June, 1908, under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, between the company and the Provincial Workmen's Association. The employees recently went over in a body to the United Mine Workers of America, but are working under the terms of the agreement with the Provincial Workmen's Association. The company has made no formal acknowledgement of the United Mine Workers of America, and has refused to collect dues for it as was formerly done for the Provincial Workmen's Association. No further difficulty seems probable.

- 5. Cumberland Railway and Coal Company, Springhill, N.S.—Normal number of employees, 1,726. In this case, work was being prosecuted without any agreement, but substantially under the terms recommended by a Board of Conciliation and Investigation established under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in 1907 to adjust certain grievances, and against the findings of which the men had remained on strike for 13 weeks. The men, who had been at the time of this occurrence and for a considerable period subsequently, members of the Provincial Workmen's Association, afterwards gave their allegiance to the United Mine Workers of America, and called for a new Board under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, the grievances submitted including a demand for recognition of the United Mine Workers of America. The Board in this case did not find expressly against recognition, but took the ground rather that the question was one which should be left for determination between the company and its employees, and should not be dealt with by a Board. As a result of the dispute, a strike was called at Springhill on August 10, with the result that the mines have been closed down from that date, and the striking miners are receiving relief from the United Mine Workers of America. The strike is likely to be indefinitely prolonged.
- 6. Acadia Coal Company, Stellarton, Pictou Co., N.S.—Normal number of employees, 937. The conditions here are precisely as described in the case of the reached in May, 1908, between the company and the Provincial Workmen's Association while a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act was in process of establishment. The United Mine Workers of America have made little impression on the employees at this point, and there appears to be no likelihood of trouble. The company recognizes the Provincial Workmen's Association by meeting its committee, but does not collect the dues.
- 7. Intercolonial Coal Company, Westville, Pictou, N.S.—Normal number of emyloyees, 937. The conditions here are yrecisely as described in the case of the Acadia Coal Company, the present working agreement with the men being brought about in the same way.
- 8. Maritime Railway and Coal Company, Chignecto, Cumberland, N.S.—Normal number of employees, 165. Here work was being pursued under an agreement between the company and the Provincial Workmen's Association, reached before a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in July, 1908, and not terminable until July 31, 1910. The men have since become members of the United Mine Workers of America, but are working under the old agreement. The company had collected dues for members of the Provincial Workmen's Association, but does not do this at present for the United Mine Workers, and has not in any way formally recognized that body. Men seem somewhat disposed to demand recognition here, and there would be trouble but for the indisposition of the United Mine Workers to fight small mines.
- 9. Maritime Railway and Coal Company, Joggins, Cumeberland Co., N.S.—Normal number of employees, 151. Conditions are very similar here to those at the same company's mine at Chignecto, save that the working agreement was not made under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. The men are all members of the United Mine Workers of America, but have received no formal recognition. There

are a number of men here who have been weeded out from the employees because given to agitation, and this increases the possibilities of friction at this point.

10. Other Points.—The remaining mines are places of small output, and it is not understood that lodges of either organization have been established there.

The General Situation Reviewed.

It will be seen from the above statement that there are three coal mining strikes at present in progress in the province of Nova Scotia, namely, at Glace Bay, Inverness, and Springhill, all of them arising out of the struggle between the rival unions. The strikes at Glace Bay and Springhill took place after the disputes to which they had reference had been investigated by a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. The strike at Inverness took place without any referencee to a Board under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and would appear therefore to be directly opposed to the spirit and terms of the Act. At Glace Bay, the strike appears to be practically broken, though the production is still below normal, and many employees are receiving relief; the military force is likely to be retained for some time to come. At Inverness, where the proportions are smaller, the strike is yet more definitely broken, but there is still a considerable number of men on the United Mine Workers of America relief lists, and military protection is still considered desirable. At Springhill, no attempt is made to work the mine, and operations apparently at a standstill for an indefinite period, with a promise of the worst results to the industry and community concerned.

History of the Struggle.

It will be desirable to follow somewat more closely the struggle which has resulted in such wholesale disaster to the coal mining industry of Nova Scotia.

As already pointed out, the United Mine Workers of America has for some years claimed a district in western Canada, and a representative from that district has sat on the International Executive Board. The representative in question is Mr. Peter Patterson, at present domiciled at Westville, N.S., but for some years prior to 1908 a resident of Fernie, B.C. Mr. Patterson is Scottish by birth, but came to Nova Scotia at the age of eleven, and from that time worked in the mines of the province. Mr. Patterson was the representative of western Canada on the International Executive at the same time of the strikes in 1906 at Fernie, B.C., and Lethbridge, Alta. The first activity of the United Mine Workers of America in Nova Scotia would seem to have been in 1906, when at the meeting of the Grand Council of the Provincial Workmen's Association at Halifax in September of that year, Mr. Patterson asked and received permission to address the Council on 'the benefits of affiliation' with that order. A few months prior to Mr. Patterson's visit and address a member of the United Mine Workers of America International Board had visited Nova Scotia to look into the question of extending the organization into the province, but had decided, according to Grand Secretary Moffatt, that the Provincial Workmen's Association being so well organized all over Nova Scotia it was not desirable for the United Mine Workers of America to attempt organization there. However, after Mr. Patterson's address to the Grand Council, the matter seems to have

been kept alive, and gradually small parties of the United Mine Workers of America sympathizers began to appear in the different Provincial Workmen's Association lodges. Many people who are entirely opposed to the United Mine Workers of America and wholly friendly to the Grand Secretary of the Provincial Workmen's Association, state that that official's extended retention of office was a source of discontent among a number of miners. He had become well known to the officials of a number of companies, including the Dominion Coal Company, and had grown into the habit of dealing with the companies on behalf of the men without always going through the form of consulting the men's committees. In this and other ways he had aroused the suspicion and jealousies of a number. In addition, politics came in. Moffatt is frankly a Liberal, but claims not to have taken unfair advantage of this fact in his capacity as Grand Secretary. He was opposed for Grand Secretary some year ago by Mr. James Madden, now counsel for the United Mine Workers of America, and Conservative member of parliament for the riding.

It would not, of course, be proper for me as a public servant, to discuss this aspect of the question other than to suggest that it has apparently had an important bearing on the whole difficulty, and that it is freely asserted by members of both political parties that certain gentlemen have sought political advantage in swelling the incipient agitation in favour of a transfer of allegiance to the United Mine Workers of America into a movement big enough to secure a Grand Secretary of friendly views in matters political. Moffatt states that he realized that it would have been well for the organization if he had retired, he having been there long enough, and he had thought of withdrawing at the annual meeting of September, 1908, but that when he found the movement afoot to switch the whole organization over to the United Mine Workers of America and to bring politics into it, he decided to stay on. No attempt was made to contest his election.

The Provincial Workmen's Association Referendum.

In the meantime the agitation for affiliation to the United Mine Workers of America or for some other connection with that order had gained considerable ground. Mr. Patterson had remained almost continuously on the ground, and had been assiduous in pointing out the advantages of the larger organization. At a special meeting of the Provincial Workmen's Association Grand Council held in Halifax in May, 1908, it was resolved to take a referendum vote on the question of affiliation or amalgamation with the United Mine Workers of America. The referendum was duly taken and was in favour of amalgamation by about 2,800 to 2,400.

At the following annual meeting of the Grand Council in September, 1908, the Council decided by a vote of 49 to 28 that the action taken at the May meeting was illegal 'the delegates having received no instructions from their lodges to bring about the referendum vote.' On the general subject of the movement for amalgamation with the United Mine Workers of America, the following resolution was passed by a vote of 47 to 7:—

'Whereas during the year much agitation has been caused by some of the lodges of the Provincial Workmen's Asociation with the purpose to destroy the association by bringing in the United Mine Workers of America: And whereas this agitation tends to destroy the usefulness of the association and

also burdens it with unnecessary expenses: Be it hereby resolved that this Grand Council deems the agitation for any other labour organization sufficient cause for the revoking or suspension of charters of lodges so agitating, and gives the Grand Executive authority to revoke the charters of such lodges. And we further recommend that no agitation be permitted in any subordinate lodge.'

It is probable that when the Grand Council ordered the referendum it had been able to form no idea of the strength of the amalgamation movement, the result of which was a genuine surprise. The Council got out of the difficulty by a technicality, which has not, of course, escaped being termed a subterfuge. It was realized by the Council that the existence of the Provincial Workmen's Association was at stake and the success of the United Mine Workers of America, it was held, would have in all probability entailed in the immediate future a successful strike for recognition or a complete tie-up. The Grand Council regarded its action as necessary to save the situation.

Leaders in the Agitation.

The movement towards the United Mine Workers of America appears, therefore, to have been independent of any agitation from the United States, save in so far as this may be supposed to have been rendered by Mr. Patterson, an international officer, but a British subject and a Canadian by long residence. Springhill appears to have been one of the first places definitely to organize a United Mine Workers of America lodge, and took the steps in December, 1908, other places rapidly following its example.

The agitation and organization appear to have been carried on by Canadians only until last spring, when on March 2, Mr. H. Bousfield, of Kansas, a member of the International Board for District 14, came to Canada to help in the extension of the United Mine Workers of America. Like so many of the other leaders in trades unionism on both sides of the line, Mr. Bousfield, though an American citizen, was born in Great Britain, being a native of Durham county, England.

Others prominent in the agitation were Messrs. D. McDougall, of Glace Bay, district president, a native of Cape Breton and an employee of the Dominion Coal Company for many years until in March last he was dismissed by the Coal Company; J. B. Lachlin, District Secretary-Treasurer, a former employee at the Sydney Mines; James D. MacLennan, representative of the district on the International Board, and one of those who regard themselves as having especially suffered from discrimination at the hands of the Dominion Coal Company on account of having joined the United Mine Workers of America; J. B. Moss, Springhill, District Vice-President, formerly check-weighman at the Springhill Mines, also formerly a Grand Master of the Provincial Workmen's Association; E. S. Sutherland, a native and resident of Nova Scotia, international organizer; and David Neilson, Scottish by birth, and many years resident in Nova Scotia, district organizer.

The only American citizen besides Bousfield who had stayed for any considerable period in Nova Scotia in connection with the struggle is Mr. E. S. McCullough, Vice-President of the United Mine Workers of America, who came on an official visit on July 2 and stayed until August 7, visiting various points in the province. Mr. T. L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, also visited the province

shortly before the declaration of the strike at Glace Bay, and discussed the threatening trouble with many prominent persons, including Premier Murray at Halifax, and Mr. J. K. Cowans, Manager of the Cumberland Railway and Coal Company, at Springhill. Mr. Duggan, General Manager of the Dominion Coal Company, refused, however, to meet Mr. Lewis.

It is to be noted in connection with the above list of men prominent in the agitation that Mr. MacDougall, now President of the District Council of the United Mine Workers of America, was a member of the sub-council of the Grand Lodge of the Provincial Workmen's Association in March, 1908, when the existing agreement between the Dominion Coal Company and its employees was concluded before a Board of Conciliation and Investigation established under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and presided over by Professor Adam Shortt, and in that capacity was one of a number signing an address of congratulation under date of March 15 to the members of the Board on the successful issue of their labours. Ronald Nicholson, another member of the sub-council signing the address in question has likewise become since then a prominent United Mine Workers advocate. Jos. B. Moss, now perhaps the most strenuous advocate of the United Mine Workers of America at Springhill, was formerly grand master of the Provincial Workmen's Association.

It will be desirable now to set down briefly the leading circumstances connected with each of the three strikes.

THE STRIKE AT GLACE BAY.

The rupture between the Dominion Coal Company and a number of its employees is the most important of all the developments from the struggle between the unions, both because of the number of men directly concerned and the large industrial interests involved, also because it is generally conceded that the result elsewhere in Nova Scotia, with the possible exception of Springhill, will depend upon the outcome at Glace Bay. The smaller operators, in almost every instance where they have come into contact with the struggle have assured their employees that the result at Glace Bay will determine their own attitude to the United Mine Workers of America. This course has been adopted because of the apparent futility of the smaller operators taking a stand either way unless it is in agreement with the big companies. As a rule, this course seems to have satisfied the men, though there have been grumblings here and there.

The agreement above mentioned between the Dominion Coal Company and its employees is not terminable until December 31, 1909, but in the spring of the present year, on the application of certain of the employees a new Board of Conciliation and Investigation was established to investigate various grievances alleging discrimination against them as members of the United Mine Workers of America, of which body they had now become members, and a failure on the part of the company to receive the committee of that body or otherwise to recognize it. The Board to which the dispute was referred was composed of His Honour Judge Wallace, of Halifax, chairman, Mr. G. S. Campbell, a leading business man of Halifax and Mr. D. MacDougall, President of the District Union of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Board found that there had been no improper discrimination, and defended the company in giving preference in the matter of employment, under certain circum-

stances, to members of the Provincial Workmen's Association, the company having definitely refused to recognize the United Mine Workers of America. On the general question of recognition, the Board found against the men, on the ground that safety to the mutual interests of the company and its employees lay in refusing recognition to an organization controlled by foreign officials sitting at Indianapolis.

The Board's Finding on the Question of Recognition.

The terms of the Board's conclusions on this point are sufficiently important, it is believed, to be included in the present report. They were as follows:—

The most important question before the Board was that of recognition of the U. M. W. by the company. Here there is no question of agreements, it is purely a matter of policy. The U.M.W. claim the right to approach the management by committee as is done by the P. W. A. The company refuses to recognize that right. It may be admitted that there are advantages in dealing through committees with a recognized labour union, but the company find themselves face to face with two rival labour organizations, and state that it would be impracticable to deal with two separate committees whose contentions might be at variance with each other. The principal reason, however, why the company refuses to recognize the U. M. W., is that they are practically a foreign organization, having dangerous and menacing powers under their constitution. It is true that the U. M. W. is international in membership, but the principal executive officers and the great bulk of the members reside in the United States. The company points out that this has a very serious bearing on the coal trade of Nova Scotia inasmuch as the American operators are making serious inroads into Canadian markets. It appears in the evidence of Mr. Duggan that since 1906, sales to the St. Lawrence markets of American bituminous coal have increased 531,000 tons. As the St. Lawrence trade forms the chief market of the Dominion Coal Company, anything that tends to interfere with it would naturally affect the interests both of the coal company and the miners they employ. The Board considers this objection of the coal company a very grave one, because with one foreign organization controlling the miners, labour difficulties in the United States would almost certainly lead to complication in Nova Scotia. If through labour troubles in the United States a market opened up there for Nova Scotia coal at profitable rates, pressure would undoubtedly be brought to bear on the miners in Nova Scotia to prevent exports of our coal to the United States. It is true that the U. M. W. is recognized in Western Canada, but there the conditions are different because while Nova Scotia mines are finding it increasingly difficult to hold their own against the United States coal in the St. Lawrence trade, the Canadian mines of the west not only hold their own market, but in many cases can afford to export to the United States notwithstanding the duty. Another and most serious objection to recognizing the U. M. W. arises in connection with certain clauses in their constitution. One clause of that constitution states that local unions shall be composed of miners, mine labourers and other workmen, skilled and unskilled, working in and about the mines, except mine managers, top boss, and persons engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors.' Under this rule every man except the superintendent and manager of the mine is eligible for membership in the union. This the Board considers to be a dangerous and unusual rule and not in accordance with the custom in Great Britain and other mining centres. It is also in conflict with a rule of the Dominion Coal Company, a special reference to which is made in an earlier paragraph of this report.

But the most objectionable clause in the constitution is as follows:— The international officials shall at any time they deem it to the best interests of mine workers in a district that is idle, for just and sufficient reasons order a suspension in any other district or districts that would not in any way impede the settlement of the districts affected, provided that such action would conserve to the best interest of the U. M. W. of America.' This rule makes it quite possible for the executive of the Mine Workers, whose head office is in Indianapolis, Indiana, to proclaim a strike in Nova Scotia if they considered it to be in the interest of the U. M. W. as a whole. Inasmuch as all the dominating interests of the U. M. W. are centred in the United States, it seems clear that the policy of the organization would be governed by the interests of the mines there. Consequently it is not unreasonable to anticipate that on some future occasion, although labour conditions in Nova Scotia might be satisfactory, it would be to the interest of the U. M. W. as a whole to proclaim a strike in Nova Scotia. That is a power which in our opinion no foreign body should be able to exercise over our industrial interests in Nova Scotia. The Board considers that the coal company is amply justified in refusing to recognize any organization that could exercise such a dangerous and continually menacing power. Foreign officials sitting in Indianapolis should not have the power to decree that Nova Scotia miners, even when without a grievance, must stop working, and thereby cripple a great Nova Scotia industry.

The Minority Report.

The report was signed by Judge Wallace and Mr. Campbell, while a minority report was submitted by Mr. D. MacDougall, the member of the Board nominated by the men. Mr. MacDougall took the ground that there had been violent discrimination shown against members of the United Mine Workers of America. Mr. MacDougall combatted the contention of the company that the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America would in any way endanger the Montreal market, and on the questions of the right of 'deputy overmen' to join a union and of the recognition generally, he found as follows:—

One more point coming to mind and which has been put forward was the fact that the Dominion Coal Company discharged some of its employees because they were shotfirers, or what they call 'Deputy Overmen,' and they contend they should not belong to any Union. We take the stand that men of this class should not be hindered from joining any society they wish, from the fact that the union themselves places restrictions on those who should belong to labour unions, and further the special rules of the Company have to be posted up in prominent places for the guidance of the workmen according to the Coal Mines Regulation Act of the province of Nova Scotia, and their special rules so posted up do not say that these people are officials. We take this point that if the Dominion Coal Company continues creating officials the men will all be in the role, thereby having no room for any to escape, and that being a fact Prof. Shortt's argument in Labour Gazette of January, 1909, page 697, has no foundation. We therefore submit to the department that the Coal Company, or any other company, has no jurisdiction to say if a man should belong to a society or not—more particularly a union.

The only matter remaining is a recognition of our union, which I personally and in behalf of the men cannot see any just reason for the company not receiving a committee from us to adjust any grievances that may arise with our men. As to cases where the matter of recognition has been accorded

the United Mine Workers of America, we would quote reports of 1907-1908 of the department at pages 336, 337 and 351, which in our opinion is the only way this matter can be settled. We therefore urge a recognition by committee as shown by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Duggan and other officials, that dealing with a committee is the most satisfactory method of adjusting a grievance, and we, therefore, strongly urge and recommend for the reasons given. For the other reason, that if this is not done we fear great friction may occur and great trouble may be brought on by members being discharged. For example, a member might be discharged for a sufficient cause and under circumstances that no union would defend him, but if he came to his local and put his own colouring to the story it might be ragarded by the local as discrimination, and since this question has now been referred to a Board the whole union might strike, whereas, if the case was gone over by the committee and the manager, the member might be held to be in the wrong and trouble avoided, and at least this would give time to allow the parties to cool off.

This report was received in the department on April 16, and was immediately forwarded to the respective parties.

Visit of President Lewis to Canada.

The danger of the impending strike was freely discussed in the press during the next few weeks. About the end of May, Mr. T. L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, visited the mining districts of Nova Scotia, and, at Halifax, was for several hours in conference with Premier Murray. On June 7, Mr. Lewis gave out an interview in the Halifax Herald, and intimated that unless the coal companies 'recognize the right of their employees to join any labour organization they wish and adjust the many grievances the men complain of, it will lead to but one result and that is a suspension of operations.' In the same interview, Mr. Lewis is reported as stating 'The United Mine Workers as an organization is opposed to strikes as a method of settling disputes and never in its twenty years of existence has ordered a sympathetic strike, regardless of what any one says to the contrary.'

It may be well at this point to refer also to President Lewis' visit to Springhill, though this does not bear immediately on the Glace Bay strike. Mr. Lewis was in Springhill on June 6, and on that day met Mr. Cowans, General Manager of the Cumberland Railway and Coal Company. Mr. Cowans assures me that he had not intended meeting Mr. Lewis. The U.M.W.A. President, however, came right to his house, and without being discourteous, Mr. Cowans could not, he says, do other than talk with him, though he was careful to explain that he would not meet Mr. Lewis as the official representative of the United Mine Workers of America. Mr. Cowans says that so far as his conversation went with Mr. Lewis, he found the United Mine Workers' president very reasonable and particularly disposed to give heed to the bad financial showing of the company and the large preponderance of unproductive labour in the company's mines, admitting that under such conditions no mine would pay. At a mass meeting of the men that evening, Mr. Lewis spoke reasonably enough, as reported to Mr. Cowans, and as printed in the Halifax Herald, and dwelt particularly on this point of unproductive labour, insisting that instead of the proportion of miners at Springhill being one-fifth only of the 1,600 employees, the proportion should be two-thirds miners if the mine was to give a living wage and expenses.

Mr. MacDougall's Letter to the Operators.

The following letter was sent out by Mr. Daniel MacDougall, as President of the District Union of the United Mine Workers of America, under date of June 23, to each of the managers, owners and proprietors of coal mines in Nova Scotia:—

GLACE BAY, June 23.

DEAR SIR,—It is hardly necessary to call your attention to the fact that there is a general feeling of discontent among the mine workers of Nova Scotia. This has been apparent to every one for months. It is our desire that this feeling of unrest among the mine workers should be eliminated, and we are firmly of the opinion that it can be if the mine owners and their employees, through their representatives will meet in conference for the purpose of having a better understanding.

You are respectfully invited to attend a conference of the representatives of the operators and miners of Nova Scotia to be held in the city of Sydney, July 2, at 2 p.m., at Y.M.C.A hall. The object of this meeting would be to discuss the situation and to endeavour to arrive at an understanding that would be mutually beneficial to the mine owners and mine workers of the province of Nova Scotia. There is no reason why we should have any serious disagreement, and we believe that specific wage contracts with rules governing the conditions of the mine workers, as well as mine managers, would be highly beneficial to the mining industry of this province. We sincerely desire that you be present, and we again extend to you an invitation, and respectfully urge you to give the question your careful and favourable consideration.

(Signed) DAN. McDougall,

President.

It does not appear that any replies were received by Mr. MacDougall from the operators. The latter, it may be added, had met in conference some time during the month of May and decided on united action in the direction of non-recognition.

A Strike Imminent.

The company received the following communication from Mr. D. MacDougall on July 3:—

GLACE BAY, July 3, 1909.

G. H. Duggan, Esq.,
General Manager and 2nd Vice-President,
Dominion Coal Company, Ltd.

DEAR SIR,—So far we have been unable to arrange a meeting between your company and our executive. We are now addressing this last request to you that you meet us on Monday, the 5th instant, to discuss the matters of difference between your company and ourselves and try if possible to reach some permanent understanding.

We are anxious that you should comply with our request in order that trouble may be averted and we shall be glad to meet your convenience in regard to place and hour of meeting.

We shall be obliged, however, to act on the instructions given at our convention yesterday, and unless you agree to meet us before 2 o'clock

Monday afternoon, the inevitable result will follow that our members will cease work on the 6th day of July A.D., 1909.

Trusting this latter course may be avoided.

We remain, Yours truly,

District No. 26, U.M.W.A.,

(Signed.) per Dan. McDougall,

District President.

Dominion Coal Company's Notice.

No answer appears to have been returned by the company to this communication, but the Dominion Coal Company a day or two later posted the following notice to their employees in the various collieries:—

Whereas Daniel McDougall, District President of the U.M.W.A. has made public announcement through the press that if the coal companies' representatives do not meet the Executive of the U.M.W.A. on Monday and accede to certain demands a strike will be called on Tuesday morning, the sixth instant, these demands are stated to be questions of higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions generally and recognition; and whereas the Dominion Coal Company is determined that it will not recognize the United Mine Workers of America; and whereas this company has an agreement with its workmen through the Provincial Workmen's Association to continue the rates and conditions of employment now in existence until December 31, 1909; now, therefore, this company will not accede to any of the demands of the United Mine Workers of America, and it is the intention of the company to mine and ship coal with the aid of the men who are loyal to their undertaking. In order that this may be done, the company will extend all the protection in its power to the persons and families of men who continue to work, and in addition has called upon the civil authorities to afford full protection.

The company gives notice to all its employees that under the Industrial Labour Disputes Act, 1907, it is illegal for men to go on strike without 30 days' notice of the demand for a change in wages or hours, and every man going on strike in contravention of this Act is subject to a fine of \$10 to \$50 for each and every day he is on strike and will be treated as no longer in the employ of the company as regards house, house coal, or any other privilege they now enjoy.

The notice added:

That if any man does not report for work on Tuesday morning, the 6th instant, he is liable to be regarded as a striker and treated as such.

Abstracts from the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act were appended to the notice and the whole was signed by G. H. Duggan, 2nd Vice-President and General Manager of the Dominion Coal Company.

The Strike Called.

On Tuesday, July 6, the strike was called. The highest point of summer output of the Dominion Coal Company's mines is 13,500 tons, but this point had not been attained during the few days immediately preceding the strike. The number of men actually engaged at the mines immediately prior to the strike was placed at 5,280.

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The production on the Saturday preceding the strike was returned by the company at 11,085 tons, and on the following Monday, at 9,051 tons. On Tuesday, the day of the strike, the output fell to 5,609 tons, and was still further reduced on the days immediately succeeding, the production for Wednesday, June 7, being down to 3,671 tons, and for Thursday, June 8, 3,014 tons. This was the lowest point reached.

Daily Output at Mines.

The members of the Provincial Workmen's Association remained at work, and their numbers were steadily increased by accession from the ranks of the strikers and by labour brought by the company from other points. The military protection given the district in response to the requisition of Judge Finlayson on July 7 no doubt contributed to this result. The record of the daily output covering the period of the strike and continued until the second week of September, as furnished by the company, shows a steady growth in production, the figures being as follows:—

	July.		August.		SEPTEMBER.	
	Date.	Output.	Date.	Output.	Date.	Output.
	1 2 3	8,588 11,085				
Sunday	4 5 % 7 8 9 10	9,061 5,609 3,671 3,014 3,031 3,311	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	5,048 5,200 5,275 5,814 5,948 5,566	1 2 3	5,968 6,811 7,035 6,337
Sunday Pay day	12 13 14 15 16	3,760 3,842 4,037 4,215 4,496 3,975	8 9 10 11 12 13 (14)	5,880 $6,141$ $6,373$ $6,494$ $5,853$ $4,699$	5 6 7 8 9 10 11	Labour Day 6,692 7,088
Sunday		4,259 4,966 4,821 5,210 5,431 5,395		5,517 5,641 5,806 6,138 6,184 6,123		
Sanday	25 26 27 28 29 30 (31)	5,615 5,729 6,067 5,913 5,866 5,325	22 23 24 25 26 27 (28)	6,476 6,536 6,838 7,101 7,180 5,910		
Sunday			29 30 31	6,159 *4,578		

[%] Strike commenced. * No. 1 Colliery idle on account of funeral.

Requisition for Military Protection.

On Wednesday, July 7, some disturbance occurred at Collieries Nos. 2 and 3 as the non-strikers proceeded to work. Stipendiary Magistrate MacDonald read the Riot Act at No. 2, and General Manager Duggan appealed to the mayor of Glace Bay, Mr. John Douglas, for military protection, but the mayor refused, declaring that the civil authorities were fully able to cope with the situation. The mayor accordingly appointed a number of special constables, a number of which it appears were drawn from the ranks of the strikers. The mayor subsequently in conversation with me, admitted that this was the case, and inevitably so, in view of the hurry with which the specials were sworn in, nor did the mayor consider that such a point was a matter of serious objection. The company, in the meantime, appealed to County Judge Finlayson, and Judge Finlayson, on Wednesday, July 7, signed a formal requisition for military protection, which was forwarded to Colonel Humphrey, D.O.C., at Halifax. The D.O.C. referred the matter to the Department of Militia and Defence at Ottawa, and was told that if the requisition was in proper form there was no discretionary power on the part of the forces. Arrangements were accordingly made to send about five hundred men from the Royal Artillery and Royal Canadian Regiment, under command of General Drury, and these troops reached Glace Bay on Thursday, July 8. Mayor Douglas then telegraphed the following message to the Department of Militia, the Secretary of State, and the officer commanding the forces at Halifax:—

As mayor of the town, I strongly protest against the militia being sent to Glace Bay under present existing conditions in the town of Glace Bay, as I consider that the situation here is not beyond the powers of civil authorities to suppress and to prevent disorder, as required by section 80 of the Militia Act.

Further, the town council of Glace Bay at its regular meeting to-night, endorsed the position by resolution, and I hereby notify you that the town will repudiate any expenses or charges on account of or incidental to the sending of the militia and their stay here.

(Signed) John Douglas, Mayor.

On July 12, the Grand Secretary of the Provincial Workmen's Association addressed the following telegram to the Minister of Militia at Ottawa:—

The U. M. W. who are on strike here and who have indulged in a series of riots, are forwarding a petition to you, asking that the militia be withdrawn.

On behalf of the P. W. A. representing about one-half of the workers of the collieries, we ask your protection for our families, our homes and our services.

In our opinion the withdrawal of the militia would seriously imperil these and would result in bloodshed and loss of property.

The various lodges of our association have discussed the matter and have passed the attached resolution which shows the appreciation of the military. The resolution follows:—

Resolved that members of the Progress, Ironside, and Aberdeen lodges who are forcibly prevented from going to work, go to work to-morrow and continue at work under the protection of the military, the civil authorities having been unable to suppress the disturbances caused by the strikers.

Further resolved that these lodges view the appointment of members of U. M. W. as special constables to protect the lives of P. W. A. as a huge farce.

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as the U. M. W. are fighting the P. W. A. as ardently as they are fighting the Dominion Coal Company.

Copies of resolution to be sent to Mayor Douglas, of Glace Bay, and the public press. This resolution is signed by the secretaries of thirteen lodges.

Official Statement by Minister of Labour.

On July 13, the following official statement as to the attitude of the Department of Labour was made public by direction of the Minister of Labour:—

The dispute at Glace Bay between certain of the employees of the Dominion Coal Company, members of a local union of the United Mine Workers of America, and the said company, has already been the subject of government intervention by reference under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and the report of the Board appointed has been given to the public in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

Were parties to industrial disputes encouraged to look indefinitely to government intervention, or given reason to believe that the findings of boards appointed expressly for the purpose of inquiring into existing troubles would be subject to further revision by the minister or other officer of the Department of Labour, it would seriously prejudice the effectiveness of the work of the boards appointed under the Act and the value of their findings, and might only serve, having regard to industrial disputes generally, to prolong rather than minimize the period of industrial strife.

Question of Order in Glace Bay.

Many arrests were made from day to day by the special constables of the company, many of whom had been sworn in. The charges were chiefly of minor disorders and loitering, which last was illegal after midnight under a city by-law. The strikers claimed to be in this way prevented unfairly from doing picket duty. On July 27 an attempt was apparently made to dynamite the residence of Mr. Robert Simpson, Manager of Reserve Colliery. The verandah and all the windows of Mr. Simpson's house were badly shattered. On the following day there was a somewhat similar occurrence at a house at Lingan Lake, occupied by a coal cutter who was coming to work. No person was injured in either case.

I arrived at Glace Bay on September 1, and during a stay of several days in the town, made close observations of the general bearing towards each other of the soldiers and the citizens, and as to the apparent necessity for the continuance of protection. The latter point is, perhaps, a difficult one on which to express an opinion. As to the general bearing of the militia, the men appeared to be quiet and civil, and on the whole to have a certain popularity with the citizens, regardless of strike sympathies. Mr. Madden, M.P., counsel for the United Mine Workers, in conversation with me, complained that the soldiers had been high-handed in several cases, and that many of them were in the habit of using very foul language, but he subsequently admitted that this was confined to the detachment, that had been stationed at Reserve Mine, and that the situation had subsequently improved.

The streets of the towns affected wore the usual appearance of a district where a strike is in progress, gangs of idle men being very numerous. There was no suggestion of disorder, as a rule, but a good deal of drunkenness was noticeable, this being the more surprising in view of the prohibition of licenses in the various coal mining

towns. There being thirteen different mining properties, covering a district embracing many miles in length and breadth, the soldiers were divided into numerous detachments accordingly, and no large force was visible at any one point. Colonel Fages, who was in command at the time of my stay in the vicinity, informed me that arrangements were then under way to reduce the number to somewhat under one-half the original force, and this reduction has since been carried out, so that the number of troops now in the district is less than 200.

Mood of the Strikers.

The prevailing mood of the strikers, so far as could be gathered from casual conversation with groups of them, was one of grim determination to persist in the demand for recognition. The company was roundly denounced for breaches of faith and unfair treatment of the men, and the Provincial Workmen's Association was stated to be too weak to enforce the demands of the men. The men here, and at other points at which I have discussed the subject, regard the matter of joining the United Mine Workers as one in no way differing from that of their fellowworkmen joining other international bodies. Again and again, in reply to my inquiries, they have insisted that nothing that would be required of them as members of the United Mine Workers would be allowed to influence their duty as Canadian citizens. The theory, sometimes suggested, that the United States operators are in any way behind the movement to extend the United Mine Workers in Nova Scotia is frankly scoffed at. It is quite evident that the men look at the refusal of recognition as a limitation of the rights usually conceded, and do not look below the surface. Most of the strikers are Nova Scotians; a very large proportion natives of Cape Breton. There are few foreigners in the district. The men admit that for the most part they have never been on strike against the Dominion Coal Company before, but urge as a reason that the Provincial Workmen's Association was not strong enough to back them. The inference is that, so far as many of the men on strike are concerned, they look forward definitely to securing by means of the United Mine Workers a considerable change in conditions. The strikers insisted that there was no necessity for the troops. I observed, however, a man returning from work in charge of a special constable, who conducted him to his house in a street occupied chiefly by strikers. This is frequently done, and the conclusion is inevitable that a measure of special protection is necessary.

At the time of my visit the company was actively carrying out the policy of evicting strikers from the houses owned by the company. The United Mine Workers officials were finding houses for those displaced, but expected to be under the necessity of shortly calling for tenders for lumber to build temporary quarters for those evicted. The company is using the eviction policy as a means of inducing men to return to work, not without considerable success. The United Mine Workers is fighting all eviction cases, and not more than seven or eight are got through the court during a day on an average.

Attitude of Officials on Either Side.

I had numerous talks with Mr. G. H. Duggan, General Manager of the Dominion Coal Company, and with the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, Patter-

son, Bousfield, Nicholson, &c. MacDougall was absent in Newfoundland at the time of my visit; he was understood to be doing his best to prevent labour coming to the company from that quarter. The United Mine Workers officials talked confidently of winning out, and insisted that the published statements of the company from day to day as to output were untrue. They declared also that the company was taking out coal under very improper conditions, constituting great danger to the mine. I subsequently spoke with Mr. Hiram Donkin, Deputy Minister of Mines, on the last point, and received an emphatic assurance that there was no foundation for such a statement. As to the returns of output, there is presumably no question of their accuracy. Mr. Duggan showed me the returns as they were received by him from the various departments. I made this point clear to the officers of the United Mine Workers of America.

The officials were disposed to negotiate with the company if any opportunity had been found, and insisted that if they could only get together there was no doubt of their being able to reach an agreement. One of their number suggested that a new organization might be formed, called the United Mine Workers of Nova Scotia, to which there could be no objection, and that this body might ally itself privately with the United Mine Workers of America, without incurring any ill-will from the company. The suggestion was, no doubt, impracticable, and was not made in the presence of the chief officers; it showed, however, a disposition to make concessions. Other suggestions were made by the most responsible officials of the United Mine Workers of America, showing a similar disposition. I was asked to ascertain whether the company would see a committee composed only of former employees, not including any representative from the United States, and not to be considered as a representation from the United Mine Workers. I was compelled to reply that my instructions would not permit of my intervening even to this extent, and did not approach the company on the point. Moreover, Mr. Duggan, the general manager, in a previous conversation had stated that no interview would be given to a committee of any kind and no proposition looking to settlement discussed. The manager would see any former employee up to the time of the strike, but only one at a time; not two, since that would constitute a committee. I told the United Mine Workers' officials what Mr. Duggan had said to me on this point, whereupon they insisted that the organization was prepared to carry on the fight indefinitely.

Record of the Provincial Workmen's Association.

I had several interviews also with Mr. John Moffatt, Grand Secretary of the Provincial Workmen's Association, who discussed with me his general conduct of the affairs of the organization. He admitted that he was opposed to strikes and usually did his atmost to prevent them. He denied, however, that he had not used always his utmost influence to secure improved conditions for the men. The records of the Provincial Workmen's Association on the subject of strikes are somewhat incomplete, but as far as the Grand Secretary was able to disclose them they appeared to bear out fully his statement that it had done its best to check strikes. In 26 years, Mr. Moffatt pointed out, there had been no strike in Cape Breton calling for financial assistance. In Pictou county he was aware of none. All the early strikes in Cumberland were fought out without financial aid, save a few hundred dollars to the worst-off families.

The men won in a nine week's strike at Springhill in 1890, when only \$2,000 was expended. Some support was given to the Springhill strike in 1907. While it is true that these figures justify the claim that the Provincial Workmen's Association has not promoted or encouraged strikes, they have also been used to support the contention of the men that the organization was ineffective in its dealings with the company. Here the real test would lie in the relative value of the conditions of work secured in Canada without formal strikes and in the United States, where a more aggressive policy has been pursued. This is a large and complex question and the answer is usually influenced in a measure by the sympathies of the person queried. The laws enacted in relation to the coal mining industry in Nova Scotia, however, are admitted generally to be among the most advanced in the world, and these have been made in continual conference between the government of the province and the leaders of the Provincial Workmen's Association for a generation past.

Duration of Strike.

The duration of the strike is of course wholly conjectural. The United Mine Workers of America is said to be allowing relief at the present time at the rate of \$2 for each man, \$1 for a wife and 50 cents for each child. The officials of the United Mine Workers speak confidently of their ability to stand such a strain indefinitely, but this is obviously the language of exaggeration, and must at any rate depend largely on whether or not the Order is called on to support yet other strikes in other districts. At the present rate of growth in output the company will by the end of October, if not sooner, reach a point of production substantially equal to that usually attained during the winter months, or until the 'banking' is commenced in February. It is likely, therefore, that the majority of those now on strike will be surplus labour during most of the winter.

THE STRIKE AT INVERNESS.

The strike at Inverness was the second in point of date of commencement. This strike differs from the cases at Glace Bay and Springhill, because the dispute had not been referred to a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and is therefore an infringement of the terms of that Act. The circumstances under which this strike was called appear to be as follows: Work was being carried on under an agreement with Provincial Workmen's Association made in 1906, by which the company conceded what is usually known as the 'closed shop,' and agreed to employ underground only members of the organization, the company in return receiving assurances from the leaders of the union as to efforts that would be made by them in the mutual interests of the company and its employees. The company of course undertook to collect the dues.

The mine, which has been worked since 1900, is controlled by Mackenzie and Mann, and employs about 600 men. The manager is Mr. Malcolm Beaton, and there has been no strike previously in the history of the concern. The daily output is about 1.000 tons, though the average for June was 1.273 tons. The amount mined last year was 383,000 tons, and the number of days worked was 283.

The United Mine Workers of America came to Inverness from Sydney during the winter of 1908-9, though there had been rumours of its coming since the fall. Mr. Sutherland organized the lodge. When the local union was formed no request was made for recognition nor for the non-collection of Provincial Workmen's Association dues, but on May 18, a packet was thrown into the manager's office bearing the stamp of the Inverness Local Union United Mine Workers of America, and in effect requesting that Provincial Workmen's Association dues be not any longer collected from several hundred persons, whose names were appended. The document bore no signature, and the names in the list attached were all in one handwriting. The manager took no notice of the document beyond laying it by. One or two men came in subsequently and requested that the collection of Provincial Workmen's Association dues cease. They signed a written request to that effect and were then discharged. Five Belgians came in one day and signed the typewritten form which the manager had prepared, requesting the non-collection of Provincial Workmen's Association dues; these also were then discharged. The manager said he did not see how otherwise he could keep faith with the Provincial Workmen's Association. Had the Provincial Workmen's Association committee recommended the cancellation of the agreement he would have acted on the recommendation.

On July 8, Messrs. McCullough, Vice-President of the United Mine Workers of America, and Patterson, International Board member, came to Inverness. They are registered at the Imperial Hotel as from Bay City, Mich., and Fernie, B.C., respectively. They interviewed Manager Beaton, and told him they had 95 per cent of the men in the United Mine Workers, and yet Provincial Workmen's Association dues were being collected. This was illegal, they claimed. Mr. Beaton suggested a reference to the courts. McCullough and Patterson left him, remarking that they could not say, of course, whether or not there would be a strike, since that rested with the men themselves, but whatever happened he would have himself to thank for it.

That night there was a mass meeting of the United Mine Workers of America members, which McCullough and Patterson attended. They both spoke at length, then left the hall while the question of the strike was put. The men came out in the morning and McCullough and Patterson left town next day. The strike was called on July 9. The record of outputs from that day onward shows the gradual breaking down of the strike:—

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July 1—Dominion Day, idle.
                                               July 23— 835 tons.
 2—Idle.
                                                   24- 823 "
   3-Overstocked, idle.
                                                " 25—Sunday.
 " 4—Sunday.
                                                   26— 802 tons.
    5— 924 tons.
                                                   27 - 860
 6-1140
                                                " 28- 859
                                                             66
 " 7—1205
                                                " 29— 901
 " 8—1217
                                                   30 - 923
                                                " 31— 653
                                                             66
 " 10— 399
                                            August 23— 983
 "11—Sunday.
                                                   24 - 1029
 " 12-401 tons.
                                                   25 - 1002
 " 13-- 464
                                                   26 - 983
                                               ·· 27— 944
 " 14-- 540
                                                   28 - 647
 " 15— 583
                                                   29—Sunday.
 " 16— 650
 " 17— 513 " (pay day).
                                                   30— 870 tons.
 " 18-Sunday.
                                                   31 - 976
 " 19— 808 tons.
                                              Sept.
                                                    1-- 951
 · 20- 677
                                                    2 - 911
 " 21— 766
                                                    3 - 1025
 · 22— 784
                                               4.6
                                                    4-566
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It is apparent, therefore, that the effectiveness of the strike was shortlived. New men came in and were put on and many of the strikers quickly came back. The strikes originally numbered 418, including 180 Belgians, most of whom had been in the town but a year or two. At the beginning of September Mr. Beaton stated that the strikers had diminished to about 80 Belgians and 20 English-speaking men. Tom McLeod, who had been president of the United Mine Workers of America, had gone to work for the Dominion Coal Company at Glace Bay.

Some disturbance occurred the day after the strike, and the officials of the company asked for military protection. Mayor McLeod and two justices made requisition for the aid of the militia, and 100 soldiers and seven officers of the Royal Canadian Regiment were forwarded by special train, under command of Lt.-Col. Weatherbee. Manager Beaton said he had proposed to prosecute McCullough or Patterson, or both, for aiding and abetting a strike in defiance of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and had consulted the solicitor of the company on this point, deciding finally, however, not to take this course for the present.

Jos. Moss, of Springhill, Vice-President of the District Union, was sent to Inverness to distribute relief, and while there made some attempt to settle the strike. He failed, however, and was succeeded by David Neilson, who was in charge at the time of my visit.

The Department of Labour had called the attention of the officials of the United Mine Workers of America to the situation at Inverness, asking whether or not the United Mine Workers of America organization was affording relief, at the same time pointing out the possible bearing on the dispute of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. The following reply was received:—

GLACE BAY, C.B., July 31, 1909.

F. A. Acland, Esq.,
Deputy Minister of Labour,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir,—Referring to yours of July 28, asking for information regarding the suspension of work by certain of the employees of the collieries of Inverness, C.B., on or about July 9, I beg to say as follows:—

On April 28, 1909, a local of the United Mine Workers of America was organized in Inverness and out of the 618 men employed in and around the collieries 526 of that number joined our local, and the Inverness Coal and Railway Company insisted upon still continuing to collect \$1.05 a quarter for dues and assessments in the Provincial Workmen's Association, which they had left and joined the United Mine Workers' Association.

Our Executive Committee, after some time, arranged for a meeting with the management, and they met at the office of the company in the town of Inverness, and the management informed them that as long as there were three men to meet him as a committee of the Provincial Workmen's Association that he would do business for all the men at the colliery. The manager also stated that the men would receive dues deducted for the Provincial Association, provided they sign their dismissal with the company. The work men, not feeling disposed to sign their discharge, decided to cease work until their back dues were forthcoming.

This is as near as I can possibly state the conditions at Inverness. The men notified the company by three different petitions that they protested against making any more stoppages for that association, namely, the P.W.A.

I wish to say that in my opinion, as district president, if the Labour Department knew the true situation as it exists in Cape Breton, the department would view this matter in a different light. I am also convinced that if Mr. King came to Cape Breton to see the true situation he would see one of the worst labour situations that ever existed in Canada.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Dan McDougall,
President, District No. 26, U. M. W. of A.

F. A. Acland,
Deputy Minister of Labour,
Ottawa, Canada.

Mr. McDougall's letter does not give information as to the question of relief, but while at Inverness I met Mr. David Neilson, who is in charge of the strike there, and Mr. Neilson frankly stated that he was distributing relief and had 265 names on the list. I asked him if he did not think his action seemed contrary to the law, and he said he was under orders and knew nothing of what happened before the strike.

A special meeting of the council was called to meet me, and I was asked various questions concerning the operation of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. The members of the council were greatly perturbed over the cost of the troops, which they feared would have to be retained all winter, since the Belgians who now formed the chief factor in the strike were not likely to find work at the mine again, or other work elsewhere. In addition the council feared that the Belgians would themselves become public charges.

THE STRIKE AT SPRINGHILL.

There remains the strike at Springhill, the centre of operations of the Cumber-land Railway and Coal Company. In this case, as in that of Glace Bay, the dispute had been the subject of inquiry before a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. There were several grievances referred, one being that of the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, others relating to conditions of work. The Board was composed of Mr. Justice Longley, of Halifax, chairman; Mr. Chas. Archibald, Halifax, and Mr. E. B. Paul, M.P.P. The report of the Board was received in the Department of Labour on July 23, being signed by all the members, though a footnote from Mr. Paul modified his measure of agreement with the other members. The report was of an exhaustive nature, and went at some length into the question of working expenses of the property, reviewing also the proceedings of the four previous Boards of Conciliation and Investigation which had dealt with the differences between the management and the men.

On the question of recognition of the union, the Board took ground somewhat different from that of the Glace Bay Board, and held that the Board should not express any definite opinion on the point. After a careful review of the arguments advanced for and against recognition, the Board found on this point as follows:—

It is quite possible that recognition of the Local Union No. 469 U.M.W. by the C.R. & C. Company would at the present moment remove one unpleasant source of friction between the parties. It is, however, by no means clear

to your Board that any right exists on the part of the Department of Labour to enforce upon any company operating a mine or any other industrial enterprise a compulsion to give official recognition to any labour organization forced among its employees. Undoubtedly, under certain circumstances such a recognition results in convenience of various kinds in the transaction of the delicate relations which must always subsist between employer and employee in enterprises involving large numbers of the latter. From all the information which your Board has been able to obtain, however, it does not appear that such recognition is by any means a universal rule in such cases. Certain large employers of labour have refused and continue to refuse to recognize any labour organization and transact their business with individual employees or committee representing them.

Section 26 of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act provides 'that the Board's recommendation shall deal with each item of the dispute and shall state in plain terms, &c., what in the Board's opinion ought or ought not to

be done by the respective parties concerned.'

In the present instance this Board does not feel under all the circumstances that it ought to definitely express an opinion that the company should recognize Local Union 469 of the U. M. W. It may or may not be desirable that the company should do this, but it seems to your Board that in view of the representations made it would be exceeding the just limits of its functions to express any definite opinion as to what the company ought to do in this regard. We think it ought to be left to the judgment and discretion of the company as to how far it will officially recognize an organization having its central authority outside the province, and largely under the control of interests that may be at some time in acute competition with the interests of the company.

Mr. Paul dissented and remarked:

'I think the recognition of Local Union No. 469 by the company would result in allaying friction and tend generally to a better understanding between the management and the employees. I think the employees should have the right to organize under any conditions and regulations which suit them best, so long as such organization contains no provisions and obligations which conflict with our laws, provincial or general.'

It is not desirable here to enter into the other questions discussed before the Board further than to draw attention to the general contention of the company that for several years past the mine has been conducted at a loss. A statement was submitted showing the extent to which wages had been increased since 1899, showing increases for 33 per cent in the case of unskilled labour to 70 per cent in the case of miners. It was submitted that while the average earnings of miners per day had increased from \$1.83 in 1895 to \$3.14 in 1907 the production of coal per miner per day had decreased from 5.52 tons in 1895 to 4.10 in 1907. The company claimed to have lost money during each of the last four years, totalling \$299,690.19, and the Board pointed out that the accuracy of the figures submitted in this respect was not seriously questioned. It was also pointed out by the company that here had been 22 srikes during the last twenty years of operation. On the general subject of changes of conditions looking to increased earnings the Board found that it was 'unreasonable and impracticable that the employees should ask or expect higher rates of remuneration under existing conditions. The price of coal has fallen in large and important

contracts as compared with last year when a net loss resulted. The figures for five months of the present year indicate that the loss for 1909 is likely to be very much greater.' The report continued as follows:—

Under these circumstances your Board cannot help recognizing that the only rational policy to be pursued by all parties concerned, is one of conciliation and forbearance in order that this large and important industry may not be compelled to cease operations, with most far-reaching and disastrous consequences to all, including the business men of the town. Heavy losses have been already entailed by twenty-two strikes which have exhausted the energies and wasted the resources of the company. In the judgment of the Board, the present is not a time to agitate for changes, but rather a time a common effort should be made to improve the situation and secure the permanence of the industry.

The Board took special note of the long standing friction between the company and its employees, as evidenced by the extraordinary number of strikes, and made the following remarks on this point:—

Your Board saw tokens during the somewhat lengthy investigation of the matters in dispute that unpleasant feelings, if not distinct hostility, existed between a large number of employees and the management. It would perhaps be invidious to attempt to place the responsibility for this, but the Board feel it their duty to bring this state of affairs to the attention of the directors of the company in a formal manner by means of this report.

This Board recommends the directors to make a careful investigation into this unpleasant feature of existing relations with the hope that they may be able to adopt such a policy or make such changes as will prevent the possibility of this unfortunate condition prevailing in the future

The Strike Called.

The men refused to accept the findings of the Board, and on August 9 called a strike, which came into effect next morning. The only formal notification received on the subject by the company was a telephone message from Mr. William Watkins, secretary of the union, to Mr. Stewart, manager of the mine, to the effect that the men would not be at work in the morning. The strike in this case was complete, not only the miners but the pumpmen, firemen and engine-drivers being called out, though about one hundred men are required to keep the mines free from water and in good condition as to ventilation, &c.

On August 13 and 14 the following messages were interchanged on the subjects between the Halifax *Herald* and Mr. T. L. Lewis:—

To T. L. Lewis, President U.M.W.A., Indianapolis, U.S.A.

Halifax, August 13.—Our reports show that the U. M. W. at the Springhill struck without notice. Every man was called out, including pumpmen, foreman and repair men. This will cause the speedy destruction of the mines.

Is this in accordance with the U. M. W. policy? If so, it is calculated to antagonize public opinion against your organization. Shall be glad for you to wire us for publication an authoritative statement of your policy, and

the position your executive will take in this extraordinary situation in Nova Scotia, which, we are told, is exactly opposite to your policy in the Unitied States.

The HALIFAX HERALD.

President Lewis' Reply.

To the Halifax Herald, Canada:

Indianapolis, August 14.—Am not acquainted with the details of the strike at Springhill. It is against the policy and principles of the United Mine Workers to order out pumpmen, and such others as are necessary to protect property.

I have advised that pumpmen and others necessary to protect property

return to work. This is our rule even where strikes may exist.

T. L. Lewis.

Notwithstanding this reply the pumpmen have remained out, and the protection of the mines has been undertaken by the officials, who are continuing the work at the present time.

Notice of Reduction of Wages for Miners.

On September 1 the company posted the following notice:-

NOTICE TO MINERS.

This company has shown to its employees that it has for the last three years been operating at a loss.

It must be apparent to the miners as it is to the directors that this cannot continue.

This company will not resume except at a reduction of fifteen (15) per cent on the rates paid to miners at the time the present strike commenced.

The rates paid other classes of labour will not be changed.

By order,

J. R. Cowans, General Manager.

Springhill, N.S., Sept. 1, 1909.

Evidence of Strong Feeling.

I found evidence of strong feeling as between the management and the employees of this company. Leading spirits among the men manifest much feeling, not to say bitterness, toward the management, not only toward the person of the general manager, but to all subordinate officials; and since all these were drawn, with one exception, from the ranks of the men themselves, the presumption is at least favourable to the theory that any estrangement that exists is not due to one side alone. With such an influence as this dominanat among the men it would seem to be impossible for any manager or official to bring about a condition of good relations.

Concerning the company's condition that the mine was losing money year by year, the men admitted that an investigation of the figures submitted might show them to be correct on the face, but agreed that it was all a question as to how certain sums should be charged. Besides, they urged and this last very strenuously, the manager

and the officials knew nothing at all about mining, and if the mine was not paying it was the fault of the bad policy of the management. It is generally conceded that the mine is developed for 20 years ahead, whereas a year or two ahead is sufficient for the opeations of most companies, and it is possible that this policy of development may have some bearing on the financial question. I had understood that a serious cause of complaint on the men's part was their inability to get into personal touch with the management, though Mr. Cowans had assured me he was always ready to see the men, and did, as a matter of fact, see a great many of them. The men admitted they could get to Mr. Cowans without much difficulty, but urged that the latter nearly always upheld the rulings of the subordinate officials. The men claimed to have won each of the 23 strikes that have occurred at the mines during the last 20 years, save that of 1907. They advanced the usual reasons for preferring the United Mine Workers to the Provincial Workmen's Association, they insisting, however, in reply to my question, that they were Canadian first and were never going to accept any condition which they believed to be injurious to Canada. The United Mine Workers, I was told, were prepared to maintain the fight at Springhill for years, if necessary.

On the question of this perpetual friction between management and men in this property I made many inquiries, saving in mind particularly the remarks of the Conciliation Board on this point, and the general view of those having a close knowledge of the situation was that without a new management and the weeding out of a number of objectionable spirits among the men at Springhill there could never be harmonious relations. One is forced, therefore, to the conclusion that there can be no speedy termination to the present struggle, and that it will be a long drawn-out contest unless some factor not now in evidence comes into play.

I have said nothing hitherto as to the effect of the strike on the town of Spring-hill. The place is a country town of six or seven thousand people wholly dependent on the coal mines. It offers a striking and most favourable contrast with the average coal mining town in the general character of the houses occupied by the miners and in the general appearance of comfort and neatness. I was assured that 80 per cent of the men own their own houses, while the company has about 200 houses occupied under rent. With regard to these rented houses, I found on inquiry that the company has not so far taken any steps looking to eviction, and has never disturbed the men in the course of previous strikes.

The men are receiving relief from the United Mine Workers of America; at least the local committee was issuing orders on the local merchants, and it was estimated that about \$6,000 weekly was being spent.

The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907.

Leard much discussion of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act while in the coal mining districts of Nova Scotia. While many had views as to amendments that would, in their opinion, strengthen the Act, there was a general concensus of approval of the principle of the measure. Before the present series of 'recognition' strikes set in, every coal mine in Nova Scotia save one is working under terms recommended by a Conciliation Board, or arranged while a Conciliation Board was being established for the purpose of investigation. The

solitary exception was the Inverness mine, where the agreement had existed from 1906, before the enactment of the Act, but where the manager shortly before the present strike started, had written the department for forms looking to the establishment of a board.

Since the enactment of the measure and prior to the present trouble there has been but one strike of importance in the coal mining industry in Nova Scotia, that, namely, of the mines at Springhill in 1907, and this, occurring after an inquiry before a board, was strictly legal. The only important strike, occurring in open infringement of the Act is that now in progress at Inverness, where, however, the trouble was largely the work of newly-arrived Belgians. There was a strike of a few day's duration at Springhill a week or two after the enactment of the Act in 1907, but the men returned to work immediately on learning that the new Act applied to their case.

Looking at the number of agreements affected in the coal mining industry under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, it is impossible not to feel that the men have in this Act a means of appealing to public opinion against unfair treatment, which is likely to prove far more effective than a strike. Three-fourths of the miners of Nova Scotia, even in face of the existing strikes and friction, are contentedly working under agreements thus affected.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

F. A. ACLAND,

Deputy Minister of Labour.